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NOTE

Symbols of United Nations documents are composed of capital letters combined with figures. Mention of such a symbol indicates a reference to a United Nations document.

Documents of the Security Council (symbol S/. . .) are normally published in quarterly *Supplements* of the *Official Records of the Security Council*. The date of the document indicates the supplement in which it appears or in which information about it is given.

The resolutions of the Security Council, numbered in accordance with a system adopted in 1964, are published in yearly volumes of *Resolutions and Decisions of the Security Council*. The new system, which has been applied retroactively to resolutions adopted before 1 January 1965, became fully operative on that date.

2565th MEETING

Held in New York on Friday, 14 December 1984, at 3.30 p.m.

President: Mr. Ahmed Tawfik KHALIL (Egypt).

Present: The representatives of the following States: Burkina Faso, China, Egypt, France, India, Malta, Netherlands, Nicaragua, Pakistan, Peru, Ukrainian Soviet Socialist Republic, Union of Soviet Socialist Republics, United Kingdom of Great Britain and Northern Ireland, United States of America, Zimbabwe.

Provisional agenda (S/Agenda/2565)

1. Adoption of the agenda

2. The situation in Cyprus:
   Report of the Secretary-General on the United Nations operation in Cyprus (S/16858 and Add.1)

The meeting was called to order at 4.35 p.m.

Adoption of the agenda

The agenda was adopted.

The situation in Cyprus:
Report of the Secretary-General on the United Nations operation in Cyprus (S/16858 and Add.1)

1. The PRESIDENT [*interpretation from Arabic*]: I should like to inform members of the Council that I have received letters from the representatives of Canada, Cyprus, Greece and Turkey in which they request to be invited to participate in the discussion of the item on the Council's agenda. In accordance with the usual practice, I propose, with the consent of the Council, to invite those representatives to participate in the discussion without the right to vote, in accordance with the relevant provisions of the Charter and rule 37 of the provisional rules of procedure.

At the invitation of the President, Mr. Moushoutas (Cyprus), Mr. Dountas (Greece) and Mr. Kirca (Turkey) took places at the Council table; Mr. Lee (Canada) took the place reserved for him at the side of the Council chamber.

2. The PRESIDENT [*interpretation from Arabic*]: I should like to recall that in the course of the Council's consultations members of the Council agreed that an invitation should be extended to Mr. Rauf Denktaş in accordance with rule 39 of the provisional rules of procedure. Unless I hear any objection, I shall take it that the Council decides to invite Mr. Denktaş in accordance with rule 39. At the appropriate moment, I shall invite Mr. Denktaş to take a place at the Council table to make his statement.

3. The Security Council will now begin its consideration of the item on its agenda. Members of the Council have before them the report of the Secretary-General on the United Nations operation in Cyprus for the period 1 June to 12 December 1984 [*S/16858 and Add.1*]. Members also have before them a draft resolution contained in document S/16862, which has been prepared in the course of the Council's consultations.

4. I should like to express our appreciation to the Secretary-General for the facts contained in his report on the situation prevailing between the two parties concerned. On behalf of the Council I express the hope that the forthcoming high-level meeting will be useful and that we are at a crossroads in the development of the question of Cyprus.

5. I should also like to express our appreciation to the Secretary-General for his exemplary efforts and perseverance which have brought us to this crossroads and captured the imagination of the members of the Security Council and the international community, giving them the hope of achieving what has eluded us in the past. It is to be hoped that, thanks to the participation of us all, this objective will soon be achieved.

6. It is my understanding that the Council is ready to proceed to the vote on the draft resolution before it. Unless I hear any objection, I shall put the draft resolution to the vote now.

A vote was taken by show of hands.

The draft resolution was adopted unanimously [resolution 559 (1984)].

7. Mr. SHAH NAWAZ (Pakistan): The Security Council has just extended the mandate of the United Nations Peace-keeping Force in Cyprus (UNFICYP) at a time when developments of great significance are taking place in the search for an honourable and peaceful solution of the Cyprus problem, which is now more than 20 years old. The negotiations carried out through the good offices of the Secretary-General have entered a final critical phase, and a solution acceptable to both the Greek Cypriot and the Turkish Cypriot communities is in sight.

8. I should like to quote here from the Secretary-General's report [*S/16858*] on the final round of negotiations through his good offices, held in New York during the past few weeks. His assessment of the outcome of the negotiations in paragraph 61 of the report projects the optimism that a successful conclusion of the protracted negotiations on the Cyprus question may be at hand. He said:

> "During the final round of negotiations major political decisions were taken, and I have to report that the Turkish Cypriot side conveyed to me a position which was, both with regard to the constitutional as well as the territorial aspects, substantially improved from the one which it had maintained in previous years. I have been conscious throughout the last round of discussions of the crucial nature of the decisions confronting the Greek Cypriot community and of the constructive efforts they have made to reach the present stage. I am confident that both sides will prove at the joint high-level meeting that we have reached a turning point in the development of the question of Cyprus, and that their determination to work together in a Federal Republic . . . will prove strong enough to overcome the remaining difficulties and to dispel existing suspicions."

9. Pakistan draws special satisfaction from the fact that all along it unreservedly emphasized the paramount importance of continuing the negotiations between the two sides through the good offices of the Secretary-General, even at times when the utility of this dialogue was seen to be in doubt. We went to the extent of voicing our opposition to Council resolution 541 (1983), on the ground that its contents prejudiced the continuation of the negotiations by virtue of the categorical censure of the position of the Turkish Cypriot community, whose co-operation, in our view, was an indispensable condition for the solution of the problem.

10. The successful outcome of the Secretary-General's efforts also validates our consistent stand that a solution of the Cyprus question, preserving the unity and territorial integrity of the island, was always possible, provided the solution satisfied the aspirations of the Turkish Cypriot community, which felt deprived of its rights guaranteed under the 1960 Constitution as a co-founder of the State. We gave credence to the declarations made by the Turkish Cypriot leaders that the object of their political actions, which often became a target of international criticism, was to secure the legitimate rights of the Turkish Cypriot community within the framework of a united, independent and sovereign Cyprus. This position became evident once again in their responses to the Secretary-General's package proposals made during the final round of the talks, as reflected in section V of the Secretary-General's report.

11. While tracing the evolution of the draft for a joint high-level agreement, the Secretary-General acknowledged that the Turkish Cypriot side was the first to convey its "favourable reaction to all elements of my presentation" [*ibid., para. 50*]. The Secretary-General also mentioned in his report that at the last stage of discussions, after the Greek Cypriot delegation had given its responses to his package proposals, he sought and received from Turkish Cypriots understandings which were helpful in further narrowing the gap in the positions of the two sides. We are also gratified at the positive attitude maintained by the Greek Cypriot side during the negotiations and the fact that both interlocutors are now in a position to move forward towards a high-level meeting for the conclusion of an agreement which, according to the Secretary-General, contained "the necessary elements for a comprehensive solution of the problem, aimed at establishing a Federal Republic of Cyprus" [*ibid.*].

12. As the solution of the Cyprus question appears to be within reach, we wish to pay our tribute to its principal architect, the Secretary-General. We deeply admire the dedication, commitment, patience and perseverance with which he has pursued the search for a just and peaceful solution of the Cyprus problem. His efforts have been crowned with success, which is as much a personal triumph for him as it is indeed for the United Nations.

13. In his report on the work of the Organization, submitted to the General Assembly in 1982 as document A/37/1, the Secretary-General pointed to the crisis in multilateralism and the erosion of the role of the United Nations as a negotiating forum. There has been little change in this situation since the Secretary-General presented his analysis more than two years ago. His success in promoting a solution of the Cyprus issue, however, brightens the hope for strengthening the United Nations as an effective instrument for the maintenance of international peace and security and for bringing the Organization back to prominence on the world stage as it approaches its fortieth anniversary. This accomplishment also creates new possibilities for an active and promising role for the Secretary-General in circumstances where other international initiatives reach a deadlock. We hope that the success of the Cyprus negotiations will have a positive impact on the Secretary-General's initiatives concerning other international issues.

14. Finally, our greetings go to the people of Cyprus, who, despite their two distinctive identities, are ordained to live as one nation and to share the bounties of the island they inhabit. There is no alternative for the two Cypriot communities other than to coexist peacefully within the framework of a united federal Cyprus. We are happy at the progress that their leaders have been able to make towards reaching an agreement, and we hope that the high-level meeting envisaged in the Secretary-General's report will usher in a new era of conciliation, progress and prosperity for all citizens of Cyprus.

15. As regards resolution 559 (1984), just adopted by the Security Council, Pakistan's position on its text has

been expressed on previous occasions when the question of extension of the mandate of UNFICYP has come up before the Council. The text of the resolution leaves considerable room for improvement but, in deference to the fact that it concerns extension of the mandate of UNFICYP, which Pakistan fully supports, my delegation has cast an affirmative vote on it.

16. Mr. LUNA MENDOZA (Peru) [*interpretation from Spanish*]: Mr. President, first of all allow me to congratulate you on having assumed the delicate task of guiding the work of the Security Council during this month. We are convinced that your efficiency and cordiality will make its mark on the Council's work. We also thank the representative of China for his sure and proper management of the work of the Council last month.

17. My delegation unreservedly supports the continuation of the work of UNFICYP. The extension of its mandate for a further period of six months is indispensable in the light of the contents of paragraph 63 of the report of the Secretary-General, since the Force in itself effectively contributes to preserving stability on the island.

18. I should like to stress that the renewal of the mandate of UNFICYP is taking place today in a particularly important context, as was just pointed out by the representative of Pakistan. The announcement made a few days ago by the Secretary-General in connection with the convening in January next year of a meeting at the highest level between the parties involved in the Cyprus problem has naturally aroused reasonable expectations on the part of those who hope for an early political settlement of the question of Cyprus.

19. With regard to this latest positive development, my delegation would like to recall that, in the context of the most recent consideration by the Security Council of the problem of Cyprus, the representative of Peru on 4 May 1984 made a statement in which, referring to the substantive aspects that should be given priority at the present stage of consideration of the problem of Cyprus, he said:

> "to ensure a decisive step forward, there must be a compromise that will make possible the immediate resumption of communication between the parties. It is obvious that without intercommunal dialogue there can be no progress. The Secretary-General has been sufficiently clear on this score in his report. These conversations should be held in the same spirit of cordiality and calm that prevailed on previous occasions. Only that spirit will make it possible to adopt a constructive approach to the crucial elements of the controversy." [*See 2534th meeting, para. 138.*]

20. In view of the progress achieved in that regard, the Peruvian delegation reaffirms its support for the personal steps being taken by the Secretary-General and its hope that these steps, taken with the political will and co-operation of the parties concerned, may lead to a just and definitive solution of the problem of Cyprus.

21. The PRESIDENT [*interpretation from Arabic*]: The next speaker is the representative of Canada, whom I invite to take a place at the Council table and to make his statement.

22. Mr. LEE (Canada): Mr. President, I should like to take this occasion to offer you our congratulations on your assumption of your important and high office. I would also take this opportunity to express our appreciation and admiration of the way in which your predecessor carried out his term. I wish to thank you, Sir, and through you the other members of the Council for agreeing to Canadian participation in the debate today on the renewal on the mandate for UNFICYP.

23. Over the years Canada has had and retains a close relationship with Cyprus. It stems not only from our Commonwealth membership but also from our direct ties with the two Cypriot communities, and from our links with our close allies and friends, Greece and Turkey. Very importantly, however, Canada's interest in this subject grows out of the Canadian commitment to, and links with, the United Nations, this Council and the office and person of the Secretary-General. Since 1964 more than 22,000 Canadian soldiers have worn the United Nations blue beret while on peace-keeping duties in Cyprus, at a direct cost to Canada of many millions of dollars. Twenty-five Canadian soldiers have made the ultimate sacrifice to keep the peace on that troubled island.

24. Canada's proven commitment to peace-keeping is only half of the equation; it must, in more than equal measure, be met by our collective efforts at peace-making. Here the record has not been crowned with success as it must ultimately be if peace, security and a richer quality of life are to be returned to Cyprus. Canada, along with other like-minded States and the United Nations as a whole, must continue to seek those as yet elusive goals.

25. For the last 20 years, as peace-keepers, we have followed closely and assisted where and whenever we could in the efforts of the United Nations to achieve a negotiated settlement. Despite some success, all these efforts have eventually become mired in controversy. Against this formidable background, the current Secretary-General, first as Special Representative and now as Secretary-General, has sought with persistence, skill and innovation to bring the parties together. His announcement that he has just succeeded in taking the first step towards a negotiated settlement by obtaining a commitment from the leaders of the two communities to meet in January within agreed parameters is most welcome. While by no means the end of the road, it does open the way towards further progress in the pursuit of that negotiated settlement. Thus today, in reaffirming the peace-keeping mandate of UNFICYP,

we believe the Council is also implicitly supporting the peacemaking mandate and endorsing the efforts of the Secretary-General.

26. I cannot let this meeting go by without also saluting the readiness of the parties directly concerned to participate actively and seriously in the discussions under the auspices of the Secretary-General. These have not been easy discussions, and the negotiations to come will not be easy. Difficult compromises and mutually acceptable understandings will have to be struck that, while doubtless not perfect, will nevertheless lead to an acceptable settlement that will be to the benefit of all Cypriots. We are gratified that the leaders of the two communities so far have resisted the all-too-easy temptation of rejection and demands that the other party must move first. We trust that they will pursue this statesmanlike course.

27. In welcoming the Secretary-General's report on this subject, may I reiterate our support for the concern, as expressed in paragraph 65 of the report, about the worsening financial situation confronting UNFICYP. We share the earnest hope of the Secretary-General that Governments will respond to his continuing appeal by making generous contributions to this important peace-keeping endeavour.

28. On behalf of my Government, I wish to confirm once again Canada's willingness to participate in UNFICYP during its next mandate, just agreed to. We do so in support of the Secretary-General's valiant peace-keeping efforts. Governments such as my own want success, but it is up to the two Cypriot communities to achieve it. We urge them and the Secretary-General to persevere. The impartiality, credibility and determination of Secretary-General Pérez de Cuéllar are undeniable. He has now provided the two communities with a critical opportunity—perhaps the last—to make the peace. Let it not be squandered.

29. The PRESIDENT [*interpretation from Arabic*]: The next speaker is the representative of Cyprus, upon whom I now call.

30. Mr. MOUSHOUTAS (Cyprus): I wish at the outset to express to you, Sir, warmest congratulations on your assumption of the high office of presidency of the Security Council and to commend you sincerely for the skilful and effective manner in which you have conducted the consultations on the draft resolution just adopted renewing the mandate of UNFICYP for another period of six months. It is a source of great satisfaction to my Government that the presidency of this most important organ of the United Nations is in the able hands of a distinguished diplomat of Egypt, a neighbouring country with which historically we enjoy very close and friendly relations and share the affinity of being founding members of the great family of the Movement of Non-Aligned Countries. I should also like to pay due tribute to your predecessor, Mr. Ling Qing of China, for his valuable contribution and the leadership demonstrated by him in tackling the difficult tasks of the Council during the month of November.

31. The decision to renew the mandate of UNFICYP until 15 June 1985, to which my Government has given its consent, is fully warranted by the situation prevailing on the island and by the ongoing initiative of the Secretary-General. This important initiative, aiming at a comprehensive, just and lasting solution of the Cyprus problem based on United Nations resolutions and the high-level agreements of 1977 [*see S/12323, para. 5*] and 1979 [*see S/13369, para. 51*], is fully and wholeheartedly supported by my Government.

32. In this regard we express our deepest appreciation to the Secretary-General for his tireless efforts to pursue the cause of peace and justice in Cyprus in accordance with his mandate and the Charter of the United Nations. We reassure him of our continued fullest co-operation and support, exerting at the same time every effort for the fruition of his endeavours. We commend also the valuable work of the Under-Secretary-General, Mr. Brian Urquhart, and of the Secretary-General's able collaborators, Mr. Sherry, Mr. Holger and Mr. Picco.

33. In pursuing his initiative the Secretary-General has a number of positive elements in his favour which strengthen his hand in this undertaking. First and foremost is his personal affinity with Cyprus, having devoted many years in the cause of the United Nations efforts towards peace-keeping and peacemaking in our island. His statesmanship and vision and his dedication to his mission, as well as the vast moral power of his office, render him a unique personality capable of leading the United Nations efforts to achieve a final comprehensive solution of the Cyprus crisis for the benefit of all its people.

34. What is more, in this lofty mission the Secretary-General enjoys, apart from the wholehearted co-operation and support of my Government, the total support of the Security Council and of the membership of the United Nations. The participation by the Greek Cypriot side in the proximity talks and its positive and constructive approach on substantive and procedural matters, as evidenced by proposals, suggestions and comments in search of a solution, are examples of good faith and positive elements that greatly contributed to the fruition of the Secretary-General's efforts which began in Vienna on 6 August 1984 and ended with his announcement on Wednesday, 12 December, of a high-level meeting.

35. Equally important, however, is the yearning and determination of the people of Cyprus as a whole to achieve the reunification of our country and our people, and their unanimous and unreserved support of the Secretary-General in this respect. The people of Cyprus, Greek Cypriots and Turkish Cypriots alike, who are undergoing hardships and sufferings and the agony of watching their homes and lands from afar as refugees

in their own country, long for return to normality and peaceful coexistence in a reunited homeland where there will be no foreign armies, barbed wire and barricades of confrontation, but brotherly coexistence. Water runs to water and man to man, and no power in the world can stop this natural force for unity. The historic ties which bind the people of Cyprus, the centuries of amicable symbiosis, the affinity of belonging to the same country, the common destiny, the common hopes and aspirations, are valuable assets in the dexterous hands of the Secretary-General.

36. However, notwithstanding these realities and strong trends in support of the Secretary-General's efforts, experience has taught us that solutions to such international problems as the question of Cyprus are not easily attainable. As my President, Mr. Spyros Kyprianou, stated on 12 December,

> "It is a fact that progress has been made during the proximity talks to the point that the Secretary-General has concluded that he should convene a high-level meeting, to which I have agreed."

And the President of the Republic added:

> "Although it is too early to predict the outcome of the high-level meeting, I must say that, in the light of discussions in the third round of the proximity talks, cautious optimism is now justified, perhaps for the first time since 1974."

37. In welcoming progress that has been made in the proximity talks we feel compelled, in view of bitter disappointments of the recent past, to warn against easing or lessening the impetus and vigilance of the international community at a time which is ripe, perhaps more than ever before, for representations by those who can and must act in order to facilitate an agreement, at the joint, high-level meeting on 17 January 1985, for a comprehensive, just and workable solution.

38. The mission of the United Nations in Cyprus remains twofold: peace-keeping through the precious efforts of UNFICYP; and peacemaking, through the initiatives of the Secretary-General. Peace-keeping alone, especially when protracted and not accompanied by parallel progress towards the solution of a problem, lacks the very essence of its purpose and may lead to a completely opposite result, that of consolidating the fruits of injustice. Such a development would be contrary to the principles and the purposes of the United Nations.

39. On the important subject of peace-keeping operations in Cyprus, we should like to express special and warm feelings of appreciation to the friendly Governments which, through voluntary contributions of personnel and funds, make possible the continuation of the most valuable mission of UNFICYP. These Governments, through their participation in and support for peace-keeping, have proved beyond doubt their dedication to the United Nations and to the lofty provisions of its Charter.

40. To the Commander of UNFICYP, Major-General Greindl, and to his dedicated officers and men we express special appreciation for the effective discharge of their peace-keeping duties.

41. Next year we shall be commemorating the fortieth anniversary of the United Nations. It is the fervent hope of my Government and of all our people that the coming year will also be marked by the achievement of the long-awaited comprehensive and just solution to our problem. The United Nations, in commemorating such an anniversary, needs not verbal commitments alone, which aim at making an impression, but the concrete tackling of the substance of the issues, which alone can bring tangible results towards the solutions of the many, interrelated and crucial problems confronting the international community. It has been repeatedly stated, and very rightly so, that the credibility of the United Nations is at stake. It is high time for the Organization, while upholding the Charter and the lofty principles embodied in it, to mark a new era of effectiveness and result-oriented action, in justice. With these hopes and expectations in mind, Cyprus recommits itself to contributing constructively to the commemoration of the Organization's fortieth anniversary.

42. As to the question of Cyprus, the President of the Republic stressed that we "will continue to strive for a just and viable solution to the problem of our long-suffering country" and that we "will continue to cooperate in absolute good faith with the Secretary-General of the United Nations".

43. May I, in conclusion, pay a tribute to the memory of Mr. Claude Pilloud, the representative of the International Committee of the Red Cross in the Committee on Missing Persons in Cyprus. We value his contribution very much.

44. The PRESIDENT: I now call on the representative of Greece.

45. Mr. DOUNTAS (Greece): Allow me at the very outset to extend to you, Sir, my warmest congratulations on your assumption of the presidency of the Security Council for the month of December. It gives me particular pleasure that the representative of a country with which Greece maintains traditional friendship is the President of the Council. We are confident that, with your experience and statesmanship, you will ably preside over the deliberations of the Security Council. I should like also to congratulate the representative of China, Mr. Ling Qing, on the able manner in which he conducted the Council's work last month.

46. As in the past, the Government of Greece has concurred in the proposal of the Secretary-General for the renewal of UNFICYP for another six months. This

concurrence follows the consent of the Government of Cyprus, which expresses the sovereignty of the Republic of Cyprus over all its territory.

47. During the past four months, the Secretary-General has made strenuous efforts to promote a fair and viable settlement of the Cyprus problem. My Government has from the outset consistently and sincerely supported this most recent initiative by the Secretary-General, as it had supported his previous efforts, which, unfortunately, did not come to fruition.

48. It is therefore a source of satisfaction to us that the Secretary-General states in his report that he has been able to convene a high-level meeting in January. In view of the fact that this high-level meeting between the President of Cyprus and Mr. Denktaş has been convened, I shall, for obvious reasons, refrain from touching upon the substance of the matter. I shall confine myself to joining, with satisfaction, in the cautious optimism voiced by President Kyprianou in his statement of 12 December.

49. I should like, however, in this context, to extend to the Secretary-General my Government's deepest appreciation and sincerest thanks for his dedication and efforts, which have been untiring indeed.

50. My Government most earnestly wishes the crucial round of negotiations to be conducted between President Kyprianou of Cyprus and Mr. Denktaş in the course of their meeting in January, under the auspices of the Secretary-General, to lead to a fair and viable solution of the Cyprus problem, on the basis of the provisions of the relevant United Nations resolutions, so that the people of Cyprus, free from outside interference, may seek a future that will compensate them for the tragic circumstances in which they have laboured in the past years.

51. I should like also to express my Government's deep appreciation for the way in which UNFICYP is carrying out its difficult and delicate task. Particular thanks in this respect go to Major-General Greindl. Finally, I express my Government's gratitude to all the troop-contributing countries which have offered contingents of their nationals or otherwise made their contribution, thus allowing the United Nations to carry out its peace-keeping task in Cyprus.

52. The PRESIDENT: The next speaker is Mr. Rauf Denktaş, to whom the Council has extended an invitation in accordance with rule 39 of its provisional rules of procedure. I invite him to take a place at the Council table and to make his statement.

53. Mr. DENKTAŞ: I thank you whole-heartedly, Mr. President, for allowing me to speak at this crucial stage of the Cyprus problem.

54. Because of certain statements that have been made here today, I must make it clear that the summit meeting which the Secretary-General has striven so hard and so persistently, and now so successfully, to convene in January next is not a meeting between the President of the Republic of Cyprus and Mr. Denktaş, but a meeting between the two leaders of the two communities. I have to make that abundantly clear.

55. I am not meeting with the President of the Republic of Cyprus, because my community has not recognized and does not recognize him as such; it looks upon the Greek Cypriot Administration as an Administration which has flouted the Constitution of Cyprus, which has gone against international requirements and the international rule of law and which has taken away my community's rights. That is why the Cyprus problem has existed for 20 years. Twenty years ago there was no republic in the north. No trouble was created by the Turkish Cypriots. Our rights were taken away; we were thrown out of the Government. We have been defending our rights; that is why UNFICYP has been in Cyprus for 20 years.

56. This mistake about the parties who are going to talk should not be made. If it is made, it becomes my duty to correct it. I am sorry to have started my talk in this way.

57. Our consent is required for the extension of the mandate of UNFICYP for another six months. Today we expressed personally to you, Mr. President, our inability to give that consent; I must now explain it to the Security Council. The reasons are well known; I have just stated what they are. In the resolution just adopted, mention is made of the Cyprus Government. We do not accept that it exists. It is we who live in Cyprus, and our opinion must be taken into account. Since we are confronted with this unacceptable resolution, it is unavoidable that we should not give our consent. But under the same rules and in the same way we have tried to accommodate UNFICYP—the value of which we know better than anyone else—in Cyprus, we shall continue to accommodate it on the territory of the Northern Republic as we have done since 1983. I must thank the Commander of UNFICYP and all his forces, who are co-operating fully with the authorities of my Government in the north. We have no problems at all between us. They can and will stay in the north, with the consent and agreement of my Government and under the procedure we followed during the past six months.

58. I have little to say about the report of the Secretary-General, except to point out two minor mistakes which crept into the report, for which I am sure the Secretary-General bears no responsibility. I mention them because the report has to be right. The second sentence of paragraph 49 reads in part, "The purpose of these talks was to address with both sides a number of substantive elements". I merely point out the mistake; I am sure that is not what the Secretary-General meant to say. It can be corrected. Similarly, there is a mistake in paragraph 50, where reference is made to "President

Kyprianou". In the context of the talks we had with the Secretary-General, Mr. Kyprianou was not the President; he was Mr. Kyprianou, the leader of the Greek Cypriot community, and I was the leader of the Turkish Cypriot community. If titles are to be given, they should be given to both sides. I understand that this was a mistake, and I mention it only for the record.

59. Before I go on to state in detail the views of my people about the exercise which the Secretary-General has carried out so carefully and diligently and brought to a successful end, I should like to thank Mr. Javier Pérez de Cuéllar for his untiring efforts and for the diplomatic skill he has displayed in the course of his current initiative, which resulted in the convening of a joint high-level meeting between the two sides. His first-hand knowledge of the Cyprus problem, his total dedication to a negotiated peaceful solution of the conflict and the trust he has evoked in all Cypriots will, I am sure, contribute to further progress and ensure that his initiative will be crowned with success.

60. I must also thank Mr. Hugo Gobbi, who, while serving his native country in another important post, continues to be the Secretary-General's Special Representative. Mr. Gobbi's past long and valuable service, his dealings with us and his sincerity in the search for a diplomatic settlement have undoubtedly contributed to the present favourable developments.

61. Our sincere thanks go also to the Acting Special Representative of the Secretary-General in Cyprus, Mr. James Holger, for the skilful and patient way in which he has been carrying out his duties in Cyprus. He has the appreciation of my people. Our thanks go also to the Commander of UNFICYP, Major-General Guenther Greindl, and to the men under his command for the way in which they have been carrying out their duties, for their full co-operation and for their sincere dealings with the authorities of the north. Finally, I should like to convey our warm appreciation and sincere thanks to Mr. Brian Urquhart, Mr. Virendra Dayal, Mr. George Sherry and Mr. Giandomenico Picco for their long and tireless efforts and hard work in the Secretariat, all of which has contributed to the present constructive and hopeful developments.

62. My sympathy goes to the family of Mr. Claude Pilloud, who was a gentleman of upright character and impartiality who had begun to make headway on the question of missing persons on both sides of the line and whose untimely death truly grieves us.

63. The Secretary-General's final efforts towards a peaceful solution of the Cyprus problem began in Vienna in August 1984. He posed certain questions to us, and it was as a result of our affirmative answers to those questions that the proximity talks began. He aimed at achieving a draft agreement for the summit meeting between two leaders. His questions, in fact, can be summarized as these: "Do you trust me? Do you give me, as a person who knows everything about Cyprus, the mandate to listen to you, to put the minimum requirements on the table for you to agree upon, and then to conclude them at a summit meeting?" It was to those questions that we said, "Yes."

64. We attended all three stages with good will and with an ardent desire to see the end of the artificially created Cyprus problem, which has threatened my people for two decades and which continues to threaten them. We helped the Secretary-General at all stages and accepted his draft agreement for a comprehensive settlement of the problem.

65. The stage of negotiations has ended with this third round of proximity talks, and the draft agreement prepared and presented by the Secretary-General must be submitted as it is, for conclusion, for the official approval of the two leaders at the next summit meeting. No rewriting, no modification, no addition can be made on the text of this draft agreement. The only point, as far as we are concerned, that remains to be discussed pertains to certain dates that it was agreed to fill in at the high-level meeting. As the Secretary-General underlined on many occasions and as has also been explicitly and clearly specified and stipulated in the text itself, the draft agreement constitutes, with all its components, an integrated whole. By its nature, this draft agreement is not open and does not allow for the introduction of reservations of any kind. With good will, I am sure the draft agreement can be concluded and sent to the working groups and can work for the peace of Cyprus.

66. I am sure that the Secretary-General will conduct the high-level meeting of 17 January 1985 fully mindful of the juridical requirements stemming inevitably from the very nature of the draft agreement which he himself has introduced. I repeat that throughout these talks we gave the Secretary-General our full support in his efforts to bring about a just and permanent peace, provided the basic principles of a bi-communal, bi-zonal federal solution were adhered to. We shall continue this most constructive attitude as long as the draft agreement which we have made here continues to be honoured by the Greek Cypriot side.

67. I must, before concluding, thank the representative of Pakistan, who has very lucidly put forward to the Council the position of the Turkish community and the efforts we have made for peace, and who has also evaluated the effect of our Declaration of Independence on the ensuing course of events. We have not let down our friends in the search for peace. We shall not let the Council down in our search for peace. We need it. We have needed it for 20 years, and, I am sure, with the help of the Secretary-General and with good will, we shall achieve it very soon and the Cyprus problem will no longer be on the Council's agenda.

68. With those words, I thank you, Mr. President, and I hope that I shall not have another occasion to address the Council, but, if necessary, I am sure you will give me the opportunity to reply to anything else said about

the Cyprus problem. I thank you all and may God bless you.

69. The PRESIDENT: The next speaker is the representative of Turkey, on whom I now call.

70. Mr. KIRCA (Turkey) [*interpretation from French*]: Mr. President, may I at the outset congratulate you on your acceding to the presidency of the Security Council. I would like to assure you of our conviction that you will discharge these important responsibilities with much elegance, tact and wisdom. It is also my brotherly duty to take this opportunity, a solemn one indeed, to emphasize the age-old ties of friendship existing between Egypt and Turkey, as well as the particular ties which, rooted as they are in our common heritage, will unite for ever our respective nations across the Mediterranean. May I also thank you, Mr. President, for the exemplary impartiality which you have displayed during the consultations which you held with the parties directly concerned in connection with the resolution renewing the mandate of UNFICYP. Our congratulations are likewise due to the representative of China, Mr. Ling Qing, who was so diligent in his direction of the work of the Council during the past month, when the mandate of another United Nations force was renewed.

71. Before giving the view of my Government on the resolution which the Council has just adopted, I should like to make very clear our position on the efforts which have been made to promote a reconciliation between the two Cypriot peoples, since this purpose can have meaning only if it is accompanied by realistic diplomatic efforts designed to reach a final settlement to the problem.

72. First and foremost, we are profoundly grateful to the Secretary-General for the vital and extremely constructive part he played in the context of the mission of good offices entrusted to him in paragraph 6 of Security Council resolution 367 (1975). I refer to his formulation and skilful presentation of a draft agreement on the basis of previous mutually agreed formulations for a final, comprehensive settlement of all the problems of Cyprus, through the establishment of a bi-communal and bi-zonal republic based on the political equality of the two associated peoples. The Government of Turkey and I personally indeed admire his wisdom, his patience, his endurance and his distinguished qualities as a seasoned diplomat, particularly his essential, deep-rooted honesty.

73. In this chamber six months ago [*2547th meeting*], I had occasion to state that in the opinion of the Turkish Government the Secretary-General had, with his report of 1 June 1984, made a signal contribution to efforts to bring about a negotiated settlement. In my statement I singled out the three essential points made in that report.

74. First, the Secretary-General had indicated that a final settlement should involve the creation of a federation of the two Cypriot communities. This had always been a fundamental principle vigorously supported by the Turkish Government.

75. Secondly, the Secretary-General reiterated that the good offices mission which was entrusted to him by the Council stemmed from paragraph 6 of resolution 367 (1975). That was a reaffirmation of essential importance.

76. Thirdly, the Secretary-General also reaffirmed that the mutually acceptable basis for negotiations between the two parties in Cyprus remained unchanged. The four components of that basis are the two high-level agreements of 12 February 1977 [*see S/12323, para. 5*] and 19 May 1979 [*see S/13369, para. 51*], the opening statement of the Secretary-General of 9 August 1980 [*S/14100, annex*] and the United Nations "evaluation" paper of 18 November 1981, which, as a single indivisible whole, constitute the only valid foundation for a just and lasting settlement of the Cyprus problem.

77. It was also on 15 June 1984 that the Government of the Turkish Republic of Northern Cyprus submitted to the Secretary-General a series of proposals of paramount importance which had the firm and total support of my Government. At that time I made it clear that these proposals should be studied with all the care they deserved.

78. We would like to thank the Secretary-General for his most recent report on the United Nations operations in Cyprus, dated 12 December 1984, which gives a clear summary of the important diplomatic activity in which he had engaged since presenting the set of working points to the representatives of both sides in Vienna on 6 and 7 August.

79. Undoubtedly it will be recalled that the Turkish Cypriot side gave an affirmative response on 31 August to the questions put by the Secretary-General in Vienna, once again indicating its political will and its desire to get down to the important exercise indicated in the working points.

80. The Vienna working points represent the cornerstone of this important effort, the idea of which is to give a new impetus to the search for a peaceful settlement to the problem of Cyprus. Consequently, it would be appropriate for us to expatiate on certain essential aspects of those points.

81. In Vienna, the Secretary-General once again spelled out the main documents which indicate the principles outlining a possible settlement and stated that it would be possible on this basis to proceed as soon as possible to the establishment of a federal republic which would be both independent and non-aligned, bi-communal as far as the federal constitutional aspect was concerned, and bi-zonal from the territorial aspect. He also suggested that the constitutional provi-

sions agreed on during the intercommunal talks in 1981 and 1982 be reaffirmed.

82. This point of departure was entirely in keeping with the Turkish Cypriot and Turkish position on what would be a valid basis for the realization of the final goal, which could only be a federal, bi-communal and bi-zonal settlement, based on the equality of political status of the two communities. We are, therefore, very gratified at the fact that these fundamental principles were duly underlined.

83. The working points which in the eyes of the Secretary-General represented an indivisible whole comprised: first, measures of political confidence-building which would be irreversible and reciprocal; secondly, the establishment, starting with the formation of a transitional government possessing both executive and legislative powers, of a federal governmental structure which would take into account the equal political status of both communities, the unity of the country and functional requirements; and thirdly, the question of territorial arrangements between the two parties making up the federation. Certain other specific issues relating to articles in the two high-level agreements were also referred to by the Secretary-General.

84. The proximity talks, which were conducted in three stages, starting on 10 September 1984 in New York, by the Secretary-General with the leaders of both Cypriot sides, were intended to corroborate these working points as constituting an indivisible whole, in order to pave the way for a draft agreement to be submitted for conclusion as soon as possible at a high-level meeting which would be held under the auspices of the Secretary-General at an appropriate time. There can be no doubt that these talks provided a responsible and valid framework within which to establish a comprehensive draft agreement which, were it to be finally concluded, would indeed be likely to lead to a just and lasting settlement of the Cypriot problem.

85. Today, my Government is gratified to be in a position to state that the Turkish Cypriot side from the very outset has always done everything it can to work for the success of these talks. Indeed, no words can adequately describe the statesmenlike qualities which were evinced by Mr. Rauf Denktaş and his colleagues, who have made it possible for the high-level meeting to be held on 17 January 1985, making giant strides in their efforts to reach a compromise. This is an attitude which undoubtedly required bold and flexible decisions on a number of issues of vital importance.

86. World public opinion will always remember the Turkish Cypriot leaders, particularly Mr. Denktaş, and will have occasion to pay them tribute for having been the first to have had sufficient courage, at the beginning of the third stage of the proximity talks, to indicate their total political desire to accept all the elements contained in the draft agreement prepared and presented by the Secretary-General, which constitute a single whole, with a view to bringing about a comprehensive settlement of the Cypriot problem. Mr. Denktaş did not stoop to delaying tactics or making declarations of intent which were deliberately vague and misleading. He remained faithful to his solemn promise that the talks would be kept confidential. He did not in any way try to divert or undermine the efforts of the Secretary-General. He negotiated with a spirit of constructive compromise, and in all good faith, with honesty, generosity, and magnanimity. It is he, and I think I may be bold enough to say he alone, who essentially contributed to the present outcome of the extremely laudable efforts of the Secretary-General.

87. Now the entire Turkish people of Cyprus quite naturally are awaiting the unequivocal acceptance by its opposite number of the draft agreement initiated and prepared by the Secretary-General, as it appears after the third round of proximity negotiations.

88. Let us hope that a new Federal Republic will shortly be founded and will continue to exist imbued with a mutual spirit of reconciliation and co-operation between the two peoples of the island, who will finally coalesce in order to form the legitimate Government of their country.

89. Let us hope that we are equal to the task of rapidly advancing towards a comprehensive political settlement in Cyprus. Since the destruction of the bi-communal State and of the legitimate and legal Government of the Republic in December 1963—almost exactly 21 years ago—this is now the long-awaited moment when the Turkish and Greek peoples of Cyprus can, if they so wish, take this opportunity to reach a final and comprehensive settlement.

90. We are fully aware of the supreme importance of the stage that lies ahead of us. We are also sufficiently realistic to recognize that a true reconciliation between Turkish Cypriots and Greek Cypriots will take time, while they embark upon a new experience of association, and that mutual trust will grow and flourish only if it is nourished by the good intentions of both sides and if there is no repetition of the errors of the past.

91. A just and lasting settlement in Cyprus is one of the main purposes of Turkish foreign policy and has been so for the past three decades. If the draft agreement were concluded at a high-level meeting between the leaders of both sides under the auspices of the Secretary-General, it would be a compromise to which my Government would not fail to give its firmest support.

92. We await the concluding of an agreement at the high-level meeting shortly to be held under the auspices of the Secretary-General and at the direct negotiations which will take place thereafter in working groups so that the text of a final settlement can be drawn up and acted upon. My Government will support and give sincere encouragement to all efforts designed to con-

tribute to the achievement of the goal, which is the establishment of a federal, bi-communal, bi-zonal and non-aligned republic. We are and will continue to be convinced that all the other parties concerned should act likewise. It is also our expectation that all other States will respect the agreement to be concluded between the two parties in Cyprus and adjust their own positions accordingly.

93. Having said that, I feel it is incumbent upon me to set forth a few thoughts that my Government regards as essential concerning the nature of the draft agreement to be submitted for conclusion at the high-level meeting to be held on 17 January.

94. Speaking before me, Mr. Denktaş made it abundantly clear that the negotiation stage terminated with the conclusion of the third round of the proximity talks and that the draft agreement prepared and presented by the Secretary-General should be submitted as it now stands for the official approval of the two leaders. No modification or addition to that text of the draft agreement is possible. The only point in abeyance concerns certain dates which the two leaders agreed could be filled in during the high-level meeting.

95. Secondly, the draft agreement, as has been repeatedly stated by the Secretary-General and as is expressly specified and stipulated in the text itself, is, together with all its components, a single whole. By its very nature, this draft agreement completely rules out the entering of any reservations of any kind. Furthermore, the text makes no provision for the introduction of reservations.

96. It is this draft agreement, with all its elements and without any exceptions, to which the Turkish Cypriot community gave its full and unreserved support before the end of the proximity talks, as is indicated by the Secretary-General in his report. The Turkish Cypriot community is even now prepared to convert the text of this draft into a high-level agreement if the other party is finally aware of the imperative need to act in this way.

97. On instructions from my Government, I declare that Turkey fully shares the position of the Turkish community in Cyprus on this point. There can be no doubt whatsoever that the Secretary-General will conduct the high-level meeting on 17 January with full respect for the juridical requirements which are inevitably involved because of the nature of the draft agreement which he himself has put forward.

98. I should be remiss if I did not present here certain reflections on the report of the Secretary-General. As the Secretary-General has pointed out quite aptly in section V of his report, since the meetings of 6 and 7 August, which led to the proximity talks which began on 10 September and were concluded on 12 December, this process that he initiated has taken place between two negotiating parties: the Turkish Cypriot community and the Greek Cypriot community. Neither of these was represented by persons claiming any State authority. The same will be true of the high-level meeting of 17 January next year. However, despite this fact, which has been so frequently repeated by the Secretary-General and is reiterated in his report, it is, to say the least, surprising to see—and, moreover, in the section dealing with these contacts—that the leader of the Greek Cypriot community is referred to as "President". The Security Council is sufficiently familiar with the Turkish Cypriot and Turkish position regarding the imputing of this title to the leader of the Greek Cypriot community. Furthermore, that leader did not participate in that process while using that false title. My Government has tried to swallow this very regrettable error which crept into the report since we are quite convinced of the true position of the Secretary-General in this connection. Nevertheless, my Government believes that such errors should not be repeated in the future.

99. To revert to the resolution on UNFICYP just adopted by the Security Council, I am forced to note once again, unfortunately, that it is far from heeding the report of the Secretary-General or reflecting the decisive stage reached in the process of seeking a final solution to the problem of Cyprus. Like the previous resolution [*resolution 553 (1984)*], this one not only refers—in the fourth preambular paragraph—to provisions which the Turkish Republic of Northern Cyprus and Turkey have never accepted but prolongs a mandate which has been made almost archaic by radical changes that have occurred in the mean time.

100. Furthermore, we have a fundamental objection to that resolution. It is based on a supposed authorization from a self-styled governmental entity that has had no genuine or juridical existence since December 1963. This entity, the so-called Government of Cyprus, has in the course of the last 21 years never been the bi-communal Government established in 1960 jointly by the Greek and Turkish Cypriots in accordance with the Constitution negotiated at that time, which provided for the participation of both communities in State bodies and functions within a bi-communal State—in other words, the State system of the Republic of Cyprus, based on equal association of the two sovereign communities of the island, which jointly exercised their right to self-determination by mutually consenting to the creation under an international treaty of the Republic of Cyprus on the basis of the unalterable Basic Articles of its Constitution.

101. There can be no doubt that the agreement to be concluded at the high-level meeting and its implementation as a result of direct negotiations between the two communities will require the allocation of new responsibilities to UNFICYP. Those responsibilities will flow directly from the agreement we hope the two communities will conclude by 17 January of next year.

102. It was our hope that the present resolution would reflect the important step taken in that direction rather

than create further legal obstacles to the extension of the UNFICYP mandate. We hope that next time we will no longer have to confront such an untenable situation and that a solution will no longer depend on the good will of the Turkish side alone. In this connection I should like to draw the Council's attention to the fact that since December 1983 the Turkish Republic of Northern Cyprus and Turkey have not accepted the resolutions on UNFICYP. It will be recalled that on 13 December 1974 [*1810th meeting*], in response to a question raised by the representative of Turkey, the Secretary-General described the Turkish Cypriot side and Turkey as two parties directly concerned with this problem.

103. Nevertheless, in order to accede to the wishes of the Secretary-General, who in his reports considered that maintenance of the peace-keeping force on the island remained essential to create the conditions most favourable for the search for a settlement to the problem, the Turkish Republic of Northern Cyprus continued to go along with the presence of a force entrusted with keeping the peace on the island and continued to co-operate with it. That co-operation is based solely on decisions taken by the Government of the Turkish Republic of Northern Cyprus. Turkey quite naturally supported that position. In other words, two of the parties directly concerned have for exactly one year not given their agreement to relevant Security Council resolutions because of the context in which they were adopted. However, the two parties in question have so far demonstrated their good will and have shown sufficient indulgence to permit UNFICYP to continue its activities.

104. Today, they are agreeing to maintain that position for the next six months to contribute to finding a peaceful solution to the problem of Cyprus. Nevertheless, it must be admitted that if the Secretary-General's draft agreement were to take the form of a high-level agreement it would be absolutely essential to find some legal foundation acceptable to everyone for the presence and activities of that Force, since its functions would thereby be considerably increased. We therefore expect that a resolution taking that new situation into account will be submitted to this body in June 1985.

105. The present resolution has been totally rejected by the Government of the Turkish Republic of Northern Cyprus. Turkey therefore rejects it for the same reasons.

106. As the Government of the Turkish Republic of Northern Cyprus has stated on many occasions,

> "The principles, scope, modalities and procedures for co-operation between the authorities of the Turkish Republic of Northern Cyprus and the United Nations Peace-keeping Force in Cyprus can only be based on decisions taken by the Government of the Republic of Northern Cyprus alone."

The Turkish Government is in complete agreement with that position and would itself confirm that the contacts between the Turkish authorities in Cyprus and UNFICYP will continue to take place on the basis of that Turkish Cypriot declaration.

107. In conclusion I would once again very warmly thank the Secretary-General and express to him our deep gratitude. I would once again express our appreciation to Major-General Guenther Greindl, Commander of UNFICYP, and to his staff, as well as to Mr. James Holger, Acting Special Representative of the Secretary-General in Cyprus, and to his colleagues —without overlooking Mr. Hugo Gobbi, Special Representative, who in the recent past has contributed so effectively and so honestly to bringing about international understanding of the truth of the Cyprus situation.

108. I cannot conclude this statement without paying a tribute to the memory of the late Mr. Claude Pilloud, who, as the third member of the Committee on Missing Persons since its creation, diligently played a part in efforts to deal with that unfortunate aspect of the problem.

109. The PRESIDENT: The representative of Cyprus has asked to make a statement, and I call upon him.

110. Mr. MOUSHOUTAS (Cyprus): I shall be very brief. For obvious reasons, I will not reply to the first remarks of Mr. Denktaş. The initiative of the Secretary-General is going on, and this is a time to concentrate our efforts on the success of the high-level meeting, not for acrimony. In any event, the records of the Security Council on the question of Cyprus contain *in extenso* our replies to these much-repeated remarks.

111. With regard to the proximity talks, on 13 December a spokesman of my President issued the following statement:

> "A spokesman for the President of the Republic of Cyprus, Mr. Spyros Kyprianou, referring to certain statements made by Mr. Denktaş, stated that as far as President Kyprianou is concerned his understanding with the Secretary-General is absolutely clear, and it coincides with yesterday's statement of the Secretary-General to the press and with his written report of today's date to the Security Council"—that is, document S/16858. "President Kyprianou feels that anything that might tend unnecessarily to complicate matters should be avoided in order that the difficult task of the Secretary-General be facilitated. President Kyprianou feels that all concerned should concentrate seriously on the effort to achieve progress towards a solution of the Cyprus problem."

112. The PRESIDENT: The representative of Greece has asked to make a statement, and I call upon him.

113. Mr. DOUNTAS (Greece): I would like to express a certain degree of surprise at the language and tone of certain statements with regard to the outcome of the proximity talks.

114. As I stated earlier, my Government earnestly hopes and wishes that in January the final round of negotiations will prove fruitful to the benefit of both communities in Cyprus. But it seems to me strange —and I feel obliged to draw the Council's attention to this—that President Kyprianou is apparently expected to come to New York in January and be presented with a document on a take-it-or-leave-it basis, and then be asked to sign it. And if he does not sign it or if he asks for some clarifications, or if he wishes to make some amendments within the context of a dialogue, then he will be considered as a negative element, denying the agreement. That is the impression conveyed by the statements.

115. To us, the natural outcome of a dialogue must always be the product of mutual agreement. It is natural to expect that the proximity talks will conclude in the spirit of a dialogue which will solve remaining points of difference, with a view to achieving the much-hoped-for result: a final agreement.

116. The PRESIDENT: I call on the representative of Turkey.

117. Mr. KIRCA (Turkey) [*interpretation from French*]: The Greek Cypriot representative has just read out a statement that was made on behalf of Mr. Spyros Kyprianou. While we feel that there are serious omissions in that statement, I must acknowledge that it does not hinder the continuation of the Secretary-General's efforts or the success of the high-level talks. But I must add that I hope that the representative of Greece is not speaking on behalf of Mr. Spyros Kyprianou.

118. The PRESIDENT: I call on the representative of Greece.

119. Mr. DOUNTAS (Greece): I want to make it absolutely clear, beyond any doubt whatsoever, that I never had the intention of speaking for the President of the Republic of Cyprus, Mr. Kyprianou. Nor was what I said any attempt to express his views. Mr. Moushoutas, the representative of Cyprus, has expressed the views of his Government ably and clearly. But since I am participating in this debate as an interested party, in the same capacity in which the representative of Turkey is participating, I thought I had the duty of conveying to the Security Council certain impressions I had gained from the statements by the Turkish side.

120. The PRESIDENT: Mr. Denktaş wishes to make a further statement. With the consent of the Council, I invite him to take a place at the Council table and to make that statement.

121. Mr. DENKTAŞ: I want to say only one thing, on the interpretation of the document which has been presented to us and which we have agreed to take up at the summit meeting. We are in full agreement with the thoughts and views of the Secretary-General and we are going there to conclude this agreement. The Secretary-General himself has described the third round of the talks as the final round, prior to the summit, or high-level, meeting. The negotiating process has therefore ended, and we are going to conclude this agreement.

122. The PRESIDENT: There are no other names on the list of speakers. The Security Council has thus concluded the present stage of its consideration of the item on the agenda.

The meeting rose at 6.15 p.m.

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